

I join my colleagues in honoring the memory of Edmund Muskie and I extend my sympathy to his wife Jane, family and many associates in Maine and across the country.

#### ED MUSKIE: A TRIBUTE

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, I would like to take a moment to pay tribute to a colleague and friend of mine who has just recently passed away. To those of us who were here during the sixties and seventies, Edmund Muskie was more than a fellow legislator, he was a model of what a Senator should be. He was well liked and respected by all, and he listened to his constituents closely, and he effected change on their behalf.

To put it simply, Ed Muskie was the best. Today, with all the talk about the Government being too big, and all the public scorn for the establishment, it is easy to lose sight of the optimism that used to be a driving force of politics. Senator Muskie embodied that optimism; He looked upon government as an opportunity, as a solution to problems. Characteristically, he acted on these beliefs to get things done. He led the demand for fiscal responsibility. As the first chairman of the Senate Budget Committee in 1974, he virtually created the budget process. He will also be remembered as a great environmental legislator. The Clean Water Act, the Clean Air Act: these were not a part of Muskie's political agenda due to pressure from lobbyists or special interest groups. They were things that he believed were necessary, and so he made them happen.

I knew Ed Muskie long before I came to the Senate, and he always felt things keenly. I used to joke with him about what I called his righteous indignation, but I always respected the moral conviction and strength that lay behind it. Senator Muskie detested the influence of lobbies and partisanship, and what they were doing to politics. He was in government to do a good job, not to play games. He was—and in this city, this is a great compliment—a man who got things done. The principles that he lived by came through in his work, whether as a Senator, a Secretary of State or as a lawyer and statesman. He knew the importance of character and of listening to the voter.

In 1970, Senator Muskie gave a memorable speech in which he said: "There are only two kinds of politics. They are not radical and reactionary, or conservative and liberal, or even Democratic and Republican. They are only the politics of fear and the politics of trust." As we head into another election year and another century, these are words to remember. Ed Muskie was a champion of the politics of trust. We will remember him fondly.

#### EDMUND SIXTUS MUSKIE

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, few who ever served in this body have been as

universally mourned as those of us from both sides of the aisle who knew him will mourn our former colleague, Ed Muskie, who died here in Washington early this morning.

The reports already circulating on the news wire services and the obituaries that will appear in tomorrow's newspapers, all will make much, and rightly so, out of his long and distinguished service as a public man.

Few men or women in our history have contributed so much to the Nation as Ed Muskie did as a U.S. Senator for 21 years and as Secretary of State; few have contributed as much to their native State as Ed Muskie did as a member of the Maine House of Representatives and as Governor of the State he loved so much; and few have contributed as much to one of the major political parties as Ed Muskie did to the Democratic Party, which he served as a Vice Presidential candidate in 1968 and as chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

It is fitting that, upon his death just 2 days before his 82d birthday, Americans should be reminded of his long and faithful public service and leadership—but those of us who knew and served with Ed Muskie will remember him more familiarly as a man of principle, as a powerful personality, and, most of all, as our good friend.

One thing that I learned very quickly, serving with him on the Budget Committee and the Foreign Relations Committee, was that while he exhibited the gravitas—the character and substance—that might be expected of a man whose full given name was Edmund Sixtus Muskie, he was a very human, very good-humored man—most of the time—who was most comfortable simply as Ed Muskie, and who if he was your friend was your friend for life.

It is true that his good humor would sometimes momentarily desert him—he had a temper that verged on the volcanic, and he was capable of weeping public tears over an insult to the wife whom he loved—but those moments occurred, for the most part, because Ed Muskie never believed that a career in politics obliged his head to divorce his heart; despite a powerful intellect that won him a law degree, a Phi Beta Kappa key and a long, successful career both in law and in politics, he never believed that political feelings must somehow be set aside.

He was passionate about his politics—he believed the work we do here is important to improving the lives of Americans—and he believed that what he felt was as important to achieving that end as what he thought.

But though Ed Muskie sometimes wore his heart unashamedly on his sleeve, he was also very much a Yankee, very much a man of Maine, who put great stock in getting things done, and getting them done at the right price.

By that I am not referring so much to his chairmanship of the Budget

Committee—although he certainly exerted a strong hand at that helm, often to the dismay of bureaucrats throughout the land and not infrequently to Senate colleagues who failed to make a strong enough case for their favorite program—no, for him, getting things done at the right price meant achieving that meld of idealism and realism which we often say a democratic system of Government requires but which few of us ever achieve with the grace and consistency of an Ed Muskie.

The people of Maine understood that as well as we did here in the Senate, and he understood and loved them, as well.

I remember him saying one time, "in Maine, we tend not to speak unless we think we can improve upon the silence."

Out of his wisdom, out of his passion, out of his drive to get things done, Ed Muskie often spoke up for Maine and for America—and we need only feel the silence of his passing gather about us now to know how much he improved upon it during a long and accomplished life.

In the words of William Shakespeare, "he was a man, take him for all in all, [we] shall not look upon his like again."

#### TRIBUTE TO SENATOR MUSKIE

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, this morning we were sad to learn of the passing of one of our most distinguished former colleagues, Senator Edmund Muskie of Maine.

Ed Muskie served our Nation in many ways. He was a soldier. A Governor. The first chairman of the Budget Committee. The Secretary of State. The Democratic Party's candidate for Vice President.

He also was responsible, in large part, for one of the most positive and profound legislative achievements of postwar America: the passage of the environmental laws of the 1970's, to clean up our Nation's air, water, and waste.

Remember what things were like 25 years ago. We had experienced decades of industrial growth without environmental protection. Lead in the air caused brain damage in children. Toxic waste dumps all across the country caused cancer. The Cuyahoga River even caught fire.

Something had to be done. And, as chairman of the Environmental Protection Subcommittee of the Environment and Public Works Committee, Ed Muskie saw that it was. He worked tirelessly to create bipartisan support for landmark environmental laws.

The Clean Water Act, requiring rivers and streams to be fishable and swimmable; the Clean Air Act, cutting emissions from cars and factories; the Safe Drinking Water Act; the Endangered Species Act.

These laws are not perfect. But, on the whole, they have been remarkably successful. Our air is cleaner. Lead